THE

PUBLISHER

Or Translator of

NICHOLAS MACHIAVELS

Whole

WORKS

OUT OF

ITALIAN, faithfully into ENGLISH;

Concerning the following Letter of *Nicholas Machiavels*, wherein he clears himself of the Aspersions alledg'd by some on his Writings: Also, his Judgment as to *Government*, whether *Monarchie* or *Democracie* be the best. And Lastly, (tho' a *Papist*) shews their wicked and base Errours, both of *Popes*, *Jesuits*, *Priests*, &c. and that they shall be brought to ruine.

Written by the Author April 1st. 1537.

Printed in the Year 1688.

THE

PUBLISHER

Or Tranſlator of *Nicholas Machiavels* whole works out of *Italian*, faithfully into *Engliſh*;

To the READER,

Concerning the following Letter of *Nicholas Machiavels* in Vindication of Himſelf, and the Aſperſions put by ſome on his Writings.

Courteous Reader,

IT hath been uſual with moſt of thoſe who have Tranſlated this Author into any Language, to ſpend much of their Time and Paper in Taxing his Impieties, and confuting his errours and falſe principles as they are pleaſed to call them, if upon peruſal of his Writings I had found him guilty of any thing that could deceive the Simple, or prejudice the reſt of Mankind, I ſhould not have put thee to the hazard of reading him in thine own Language; but rather have ſuffered him ſtill to ſleep in the obſcurity of his own, than endanger the World; but being very well aſſured of the contrary, and that the Age will rather receive advantage than damage by this publication, I did yet think that it was fit to ſay ſomething in a Preface, to vindicate our Author from thoſe Slanders which Prieſts and other byaſs'd Pens have laid upon him; but ſtill I thought, that it might prove a bold and

and presumptuous undertaking, and might excite laugh-
ter, for a person of my small Parts and Abilities, to A-
pologize for one of the greatest Wits and profoundest
Judgements that ever lived amongst the Moderns: In
this perplexity, I had the good fortune to meet with this
Letter of his own writing; which hath delivered me
from those scruples, and furnished me with an opportuni-
ty of justifying this great Person by his own Pen. Re-
ceive then this choice Piece with benignity, it hath ne-
ver before been published in any Language, but lurked
for above 80. *years in the private Cabinets of his own*
Kindred, and the Descendants of his own admirers in
Florence, *till in the beginning of the* Pontificat *of*
Urbane *the* 8*th. it was procured by the Jesuits and o-*
ther busie bodies, and brought to Rome *with an intu-*
tion to divert that wise Pope *from his design of making*
one of Nicholas Machiavels *Name and Family* Car-
dinal, *as (notwithstanding all their opposition) he did,*
not long after. When it was gotten into that City, it
wanted not those who had the judgement and curiosity to
copy it, and so at length came to enjoy that priviledge
which all rare pieces (even the sharpest Lybels and Pas-
quils) challenge in that Court, which is to be sold to
Strangers, one of which being a Gentleman of this Coun-
trey brought it over with him at his return from thence
in the year 1645, *and having translated it into* English,
did communicate it to diverse of his Friends, and by
means of some of them, it hath been my good fortune to be
capable of making thee a present of it, and let it serve as
an Apology for our Author and his Writings, if thou
thinkest

thinkest be need any. I must confess I believe his works require little, but rather praise and admiration; yet I wish I could as well justifie one undertaking of his not long after the writing of this Letter; for we find in the Story of those times, that in the Month of August *following, in the same year* 1537. *this* Nicolo Machiavelli *(except there were another of his name) was committed prisoner to the* Bargello, *amongst those who were taken in Arms against* Cosimo *at the Castle of* Montemurli, *notwithstanding all his complements in this Letter to that Prince, and professed obligations to him; if this be so, we must impute it to his too great zeal, to concur with the desires of the universality at that time, in restoring the Liberty of their Countrey, which hath so far dazel'd the judgements even of great and wise Men, that thou seest many grave Authors amongst the Ancients have even commended and deified the ingratitude and treachery of* Brutus *and* Cassius. *But certainly this crime of his would have been much more unpardonable, if he had lived to see his own Prophesie fulfilled in the Persons and Descendants of this great* Cosimo, *for there was never any succession of Princes since the World began, in which all the Royal Virtues and Qualities necessary to those who rule over Men, were more eminently perspicuous than in every individual of this line; so that those people have as little cause as ever any had to lament the change of their Government; their great* Dukes *having been truly Fathers of their Country, and treated their Subjects like Children, though their power be above all limitation, above all fundamental Laws; but they having no*

Law,

Law, are a Law to themſelves. I cannot chuſe but inſtance in ſome few of their Benefits to their people, firſt the making the River Arno *Navigable from* Piſa *to* Florence *in a year of Dearth, that ſo the poor might be ſet on work and have Bread, and the Traffick of both Cities infinitely facilitated, their making at their own charge a* Canal *from* Livorne *to* Piſa, *their erecting at* Piſa *a famous Univerſity; paying the Profeſſors who are eminent for Learning, and diſcharging all other incidencies out of their own Revenue, beſides the raiſing ſtately Buildings for Schools and Libraries, their founding a renowned Order of* Knighthood, *and keeping the Chapter in the ſame City; and ordering a conſiderable number of Knights conſtantly to reſide there, both which intended and performed by them, to encreaſe the concourſe, and reſtore the wealth to the once opulent Inhabitants of that place. Their new Building, fortifying and enfranchizing* Livorne, *that even by the aboliſhing their own Cuſtoms they might enrich their Subjects, and make that Port (as it now is) the Magazine of all the* Levant *Trade. And laſtly, Their not having in* 140 *years ever levyed any new Tax upon their people, excepting in the year* 642. *to defend the Liberties of* Italy *againſt the* Barbarians. *Theſe things would merit a Panegyrick if either my parts, or this ſhort Advertiſement would admit it, I ſhall conclude then after I have born a juſt and dutiful teſtimony to the merits of the Prince who now governs that State, in whom (if all the Princely virtues and endowments ſhould be loſt) they might be found and reſtored again*

to

to the world: *As some ingenious Artists in the last Age, retrieved the Art of Sculpture by certain* has re-lievos *remaining on some Pillars and Walls at* Rome; *The Prudence, Magnanimity, Charity, Liberality, and above all the humanity, courtesie, and affability of the Prince, though they exceed my expressions, yet they are sufficiently known, not only to his Subjects (the constant objects of his care and goodness) but even to all Strangers, more particularly to our Nation, he having undertaken a troublesome Journey to visit this Kingdom, and to make it witness and partaker of his transcendent generosity and bounty, which he hath continued ever since, as can be testified by all who have had the honour to wait upon him in his own Country, or the good fortune but to see him in ours. I my self who have been so happy to be admitted into his presence, and have been honoured since in having his Highness my customer for many choice Books to encrease (not his knowledge, for that is beyond receiving any addition by Books) but his curiosity and his Library, do think my self bound in Duty to take this poor opportunity of testifying my gratitude and devotion to this excellent Prince. As to his Letter I have nothing more to say, but that thou mayest see how right this Author was set in Principles of Religion, before he could have the information, which we have had since from the* Pens *of most Learned and Rational Controversists in those points, and therefore thou mayst admire the sagacity of his*

Judgement

Judgement. Read him then, and serve GOD thy King, and thy Country, with the Knowledge he will teach thee. Farewel.

NICHOLAS

NICHOLAS MACHIAVELS
Letter to
ZANOBIUS - BUONDELMONTIUS,
In Vindication of himself and his Writings.

THE Discourse we had lately (dear *Zenobio*) in the delightful Gardens of our old deceased Friend *Cosimo Rucellai*, and the pressing importunity of *Guilio Silviati*, that I would use some means to wipe off the many Aspersions cast upon my Writings, gives you the present trouble of reading this Letter, and me the pleasure of writing it; which last would be infinitely greater, if I were not at this day too old, and too inconsiderable, and by the change of our Government wholly incapable of performing, either with my Brain or my Hand, any further service to my Country; for it hath ever been my opinion, that whosoever goes about to make Men publickly aquainted with his Actions, or Apologize to the World for Imputations laid upon him, cannot be excused from vanity and impertinence, except his Parts and Opportunities be such, as may enable him to be instrumental for the good of others, and that he cannot archieve

chieve that excellent end, without juſtifying himſelf from having any indirect and baſe ones, and procureing truſt from Men, by clearing the repute of his Juſtice and Integrity to them. But although this be far from my caſe; yet I have yeelded (you ſee) to the entreaty of *Guilio* and the reſt of that Company, not only becauſe I am ſufficiently (both by the reſtraint of our Preſs, and the diſcretion of the perſon I write to) aſſured that this Letter will never be made publick; but for that I eſteem it a duty to clear that excellent Society, from the Scandal of having ſo dangerous and pernicious a Perſon to be a Member of their Converſation; for by reaſon of my Age, and ſince the loſs of our Liberty, and my Sufferings under that Monſter of Luſt and Cruelty *Alexander de Medeci*, ſet over us by the Divine vengeance for our ſins, I can be capable of no other Deſign or Enjoyment, than to delight and be delighted in the company of ſo many Choiſe and Virtuous Perſons, who now aſſemble themſelves with all ſecurity, under the Happy and Hopeful Reign of our new Prince, *Coſimo*; And we may ſay, that though our Common-wealth be not reſtored, our Slavery is at an end, and that he coming in by our own choice, may prove (if I have as good skill in propheſying as I have had formerly) Anceſtor to many renowned Princes, who will govern this State in great Quietneſs, and with great Clemency; ſo that our Poſterity is like to enjoy eaſe and

Security

Security, though not that Greatneſs, Wealth, and Glory, by which our City hath for ſome years paſt (even in the moſt factious and tumultuous times of our Democracie) given Law to *Italy*, and bridled the Ambition of Forreign Princes. But, that I may avoid the Loquacity incident to old Men, I will come to the buſineſs. If I remember well, the exceptions that are taken to theſe poor things I have publiſhed, are reducible to three;

First, *That in all my Writings, I inſinuate my great Affection to the Democrical Government, even ſo much as to undervalue that of Monarchy in reſpect of it, which laſt I do, not obſcurely in many paſſages, Teach, and as it were, Perſwade the People to throw off.*

Next, *That in ſome places I Vent very great Impieties, ſlighting and vilifying the Church, as Author of all the miſgovernment in the World, and by ſuch contempt make way for Atheiſm and profaneneſs.*

And laſtly, *That in my book of the Prince, I teach Monarchs all the execrable Villanies that can be invented, and inſtruct them how to break Faith, and to oppreſs and enſlave their Subjects.*

I ſhall anſwer ſomething to every one of theſe; and that I may obſerve a right Method, will begin with the firſt;

Having lived in an Age when our poor Countrey

try and Government have suffered more changes and revolutions, than ever did perhaps befall any People in so short a time, and having had till the taking of *Florence*, my share in the managing of Affairs, during almost all these Alterations; sometimes in the quality of Secretary of our City, and sometimes employed in *Embassages* abroad; I set my self to read the History of Ancient and Modern times, that I might by that means find out whether there had not been in all Ages the like Vicissitudes and Accidents in State Affairs, and to search out the causes of them, and having in some sort satisfied my self therein, I could not abstain from scribling something of the two chief kinds of Government, *Monarchy* and *Democracy*, of which all other forms are but mixtures, and since neither my Parts nor Learning could arrive to follow the steps of the *Ancients*, by writing according to Method and Art, as *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and many others have done upon this subject; I did content my self to make slight observations upon both, by giving a bare character of a *Prince*, as to the *Monarchical* frame, and as to the Popular chusing the perfectest and most successful of all Governments of that kind upon Earth, and in my Discourses upon it, following the order of my Author, without ever taking upon me to argue problematically, much less to divide which of these two Governments is the best: I from

from my way of handling matters in my discourses upon *Livy*, and from those incomparable Vertues and great Actions we read of in that *History*; and from the Observations I make, men will conclude (which is, I must confess my opinion) that the excellencie of those Counsels and Atchievements, and the improvement which Mankind, and as I may so say, Humane Nature it self obtained amongst the *Romans*, did proceed naturally from their Government; and was but a plain effect and consequence of the perfection of their Common wealth: I say if Readers will thus judge, how can *I* in reason be accused for that? it would become those who lay this blame upon me to undeceive them whom my Papers have misled, and to shew the World to what other causes we may impute those admirable effects, those Heroick qualities and performances, that integrity and purity of manners, that scorning of riches and life it self, when the publick was concerned: *If* they please to do this, they will oblidge my Readers, who will owe to such the rectifying their Judgements, and not at all offend me, who have reasoned this matter impartially and without passion; nor have positively affirmed any thing. But, what if this part of my accusation had been true? Why should I be condemned of Heresie, or indiscretion of preferring a *Common wealth* before a *Monarchy*? Was I not Born, Bred, and imployed in

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a City, which being at the time I write, under that form of Government, did owe all wealth and greatness, and all prosperity to it? If I had not very designedly avoided all dogmaticalness in my observations (being not willing to imitate young Scholars in their Declamations) I might easily have concluded from the premisses I lay down, that a *Democracy* founded upon good *Orders* is the best and most excellent *Government*, and this without the least fear of confutation, for I firmly believe, that there are none but Flatterers and Sophisters would oppose me, such as will test *Aristotle*, and even *Plato* himself, to make them write for *Monarchy*, by misapplying some loose passages in those great Authors. Nay, will tell their Readers, that what is most like the Government of the World by GOD is the best, which wholly depends upon his absolute Power; to make this comparison, run with four feet, these Sycophants must give the poor Prince they intend to Deifie, a better and superiour Nature to Humanity, must Creat a necessary dependance of all Creatures upon him, must endue him with infinite wisdom and goodness, and even with Omnipotency it self. (It will be hard for any man to be mis-led in this Argument by proofs wrested from *Theology*, since whosoever reads attentively the Historical part of the *Old Testament*, shall find that GOD himself never made but one Government for Men, that this

Govern-

overnment was a *Commmon wealth* (where in the anchadrim or *Senate*, and the Congregation or *opular Assembly* had their share) and that he anifested his high displeasure when the rebellious people would turn it into a *Monarchy*; but that I may not stricke upon the rock I profess to shun, I shall pass to that which is fit indeed to be wip'd off, and which if it were true, would not only justly expose me to the hatred and vengeance of GOD, and all good men, but even destroy the design and purpose of all my Writings, which is to treat in some sort (as well as one of my small parts can hope to do) of the *Politicks*. And how can any man pretend to write concerning *Policy*, who destroys the most essential part of it, which is obedience to all Governments? It will be very easie then for *Giulio Salviati*, or any other Member of our Society, to believe the Protestation I make, that the animating of private Men either directly or indirectly to disobey, much less to shake off, any government how despotical soever, was never in my Thoughts or Writings; those who are unwilling to give credit to this, may take the pains to assign in any of my Books, the passages they imagine to tend that way, (for I can think of none my self (that so I may give such persons more particular satisfaction; I must confess I have a discourse in one of my Books, to encourage the *Italian* Nation, to assume their ancient valour,

valour, and to expel the *Barbarians*, meaning (as the ancient *Romans* used the word) all Strangers from amongst us; but that was before the *Kings of Spain* had quiet possession of the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the *Emperour* of the *Dutchy* of *Milan*; so that I could not be interpreted to mean that the people of those two Dominions should be stir'd up to shake off their Princes, because they were Forreigners, since at that time *Lodovic Sforza* was in possession of the one, and K. *Frederick* restored to the other, both *Natives* of *Italy*; but my design was to exhort our Countrey-men not to suffer this *Province* to be the Scene of the Arms aud Ambition of *Charles* the 8th. or K. *Lewis* his Successor, who when they had a mind to renew the old Title of the House of *Anjou* to the Kingdom of *Naples*, came with such force into *Italy*, that not only our goods were plundered, and our Lands wasted, but even the liberty of our Cities and Government endangered, but to unite and oppose them, and to keep this *Province* in the hands of *Princes* of our own Nation, this my intention is so visible in the Chapter it self, that I need but refer you to it. Yet that I may not answer this imputation barely by denying, I shall assert in this place what my principles are in that which the World calls *Rebellion*, which I believe to be not only rising in Arms against any government we live under, but to acknowledge that word to extend to all

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Clandestine Conspiracies too, by which the peace and quiet of any Countrey may be interrupted, and by consequence the Lives and Estates of innocent Persons endangered. *Rebellion* then so described, I hold to be the greatest crime that can be committed amongst men, both against Policy, Morality, and *in foro Conscientiæ*; but notwithstanding all this, it is an offence which will be committed whilst the World lasts, as often as Princes tyrannize, and by enslaving and oppressing their Subjects, make Magistracy, which was intended for the benefit of Mankind, prove a Plague and Destruction to it; for let the terrour and the guilt be never so great, it is impossible that Humane Nature, which consists of Passion as well as Virtue can support with patience and submission the greatest cruelty and injustice, when ever either the weakness of their Princes, the unamity of the People, or any other favourable accident, shall give them reasonable hopes to mend their condition, and provide better for their own interest by insurrection. So that Princes and States ought in the Conduct of their Affairs, not only to consider what their People are bound to submit to; if they were inspired from Heaven, or were all Moral Philosophers; but to weigh likewise what is probable *de facto* to fall out, in this corrupt age of the World, and to reflect upon those dangerous Tumults, which have happened frequently not

only upon oppreſſion, but even by reaſon o Malverſation, and how ſome *Monarchies* hav been wholly ſubverted and change d into *Dem cracies* by the Tyranny of the Princes; as we ſe (to ſay nothing of *Rome*) the powerful *Cantons* o *Switzerland* br ught by that means a litt before the laſt age, to a conſiderable *Commo wealth*, courted and ſought by all the *Potents* i *Chriſtendom*. If Princes wi l ſeriouſly conſide this, I make no queſtion but they will rule with Clemency and Moderation, and return t that excellent Maxim of the Ancients (almo exploded in this Age) that the intereſt of *King* and of their People is the ſame, which truth hath been the whole deſign of my Writings t convince them of.

I am charged then, in the ſecond place, wit *Impiety*, and *villifying the Church, and ſo to make wa for Atheiſm.* I do not deny but that I have fre quently in my Writings laid the blame upon th Church of *Rome*, not only for all the miſgovern ment of Chriſtendom; but even for the Depra vation and almoſt total Deſtruction of *Chriſtia Religion* it ſelf in this Province; But that this Di courſe of mine doth, or can tend to teach Me impiety, or to make way for Atheiſm, I pe remptorily deny: And although for proof of my innocence herein, I need not but refer you and all others to my Papers themſelves, as they are now publiſhed (where you will find all my Rea-

Reaſons drawn from Experience, and frequent Examples cited, which is ever my way of Arguing) yet ſince I am put upon it, I ſhall in a few lines make that matter poſſibly a little clearer; and ſhall firſt make proteſtation, That as I do undoubtedly hope, by the Merits of CHRIST, and by Faith in Him, to attain Eternal Salvation; ſo I do firmly believe the Chriſtian Profeſſion to be the only true Religion now in the World: Next, I am fully perſwaded, that all Divine Verities, which GOD then deſigned to teach the World, are contained in the Books of holy Scripture, as they are now extant and received amongſt us. From them I underſtand that GOD created Man in purity and innocencie, and that the firſt of that Species, by their frailty, loſt at once their integrity and their Paradiſe, and intail'd ſin and miſery upon their Poſterity; that Almighty GOD to repair this loſs, did out of his infinite Mercy, and with unparallel'd grace and goodneſs, ſend his only begotten Son into the World, to teach us new truths, to be a perfect example of virtue, goodneſs, and obedience, to reſtore true Religion, degenerated amongſt the *Jews* into Superſtition, formality, and Hypocriſie, to die for the Salvation of Mankind; and in fine, to give to us the holy Spirit, to regenerate our Hearts, ſupport our Faith, and lead us into all truth. Now if it ſhall appear that as the luſts of our firſt Parents

did at that time disappoint the good intention of GOD, in making a pure World, and brought in by their disobedience the corruptions that are now in it. So that since likewise the Bishops of *Rome*, by their insatiable ambition and avarice, have designedly, as much as in them lyes, frustrated the Merciful Purpose He had, in the happy Restauration He intended the World by His Son, and in the renewing and reforming of Humane Nature, and have wholly defaced, and spoiled Christian Religion, and made it a Worldly and a Heathenish thing, and altogether uncapable, as it is practised amongst them, either of directing the wayes of its professors to virtue and good life, or of saving their Souls hereafter. If I say, this do appear I know no reason why I, not detesting thus much, and for giving warning to the World to take heed of their wayes, should be accused of Impiety or Atheism; or why his Holiness should be so inraged against the poor Inhabitants of the Valleys in *Savoy*, and against the *Albigesi* for calling him Antichrist: but to find that it is an undoubted truth, I mean that the *Popes* have corrupted Christian Religion, we need but read the *New Testament* (acknowledged by themselves to be of infallible truth) and there we shall see, that the Faith and Religion preached by Christ, and setled afterwards by his Apostles, and cultivated by their Sacred Epistles, is so different a thing from the Christianity the

now profeſs'd and taught at *Rome*, that we ſhou'd be convinc'd, that if thoſe Holy Men ſhould be ſent by GOD again into the World, they would take more pains to confute this *Gallimaufry*, than ever they did to preach down the Tradition of the *Phariſees*, or the Fables and Idolatry of the *Gentiles*; and would in probability ſuffer a new Martyrdom in that City under the Vicar of CHRIST, for the ſame Doctrine which once animated the Heathen Tyrants againſt them. Nay, we have ſomething more to ſay againſt theſe *Sacrilegious* pretenders to GODS power; for whereas all other falſe worſhips have been ſet up by ſome politick Legiſlators, for the ſupport and preſervation of Government, this falſe, this ſpurious Religion brought in upon the ruines of Chriſtianity by the *Popes*, hath deformed the face of Government in *Europe*; deſtroying all the good principles, and Morality left us by the Heathen themſelves; and introduced in ſtead thereof, *Sordid*, Cowardly, and impolitick Notions, whereby they have ſubjected Mankind, and even great *Princes* and *States*, to their own *Empire*, and never ſuffered any Orders or Maxims to take place where they have power that might make a Nation Wiſe, Honeſt, Great or Wealthy: This I have ſet down ſo plainly in thoſe paſſages of my Book which are complained of, that I ſhall ſay nothing at all for the proof of it in this place, but refer you thither, and come to ſpeak

a little more particularly of my first assertio
that the *Pope* and his *Clergy* have depryved Chr
stian Religion. Upon this subject I could in
nitely wish, now Letters begin to revive agai
that some Learned Pen would employ it sel
and that some person vers'd in the Chronolig
of the Church (as they call it) would deduce o
of the Ecclesiastical Writers, the time and ma
ner how these abuses crept in; and by what A
and steps this *Babel* that reaches at Heaven, w
built by these Sons of the Earth; but this matte
as unsuitable to the brevity of a Letter, and i
deed more to my small Parts and Learning,
shall not pretend to, being one who never hithe
to studied or write of Theology, further than
did naturally concern the *Politicks*; therefore
shall only deal by the New Testament as I hav
done formerly by *Titus Livius*, that is, mak
observations or reflections upon it, and leav
you and Mr. *Guilio*, and the rest of our Society
to make the judgement, nor citing like Preach
ers, the Chapter or Verse; because the reading
of Holy Scripture is little us'd, and indeed hard
ly permitted amongst us. To begin at the top
I would have any reasonable man tell me
whence this unmeasureable power, long claim'd,
and now possess'd by the *Bishop of Rome*, is deriv
ed, first of being CHRISTS Vicar, and by
that (as I may so say) pretending to a Monopo
ly of the Holy Spirit (which was promised and
given

given to the whole Church, that is, to the Elect, or Saints) as is plain by a clause in St. *Peters* Sermon, made the very same time that the miraculous gifts of the Spirit of GOD were first given to the Apostles, who says to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, *Repent and be Baptized every one of you in the name of* Jesus Christ *for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost, for this promise is to you and to your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the LORD our GOD shall call.* Next, to judge infallibly of Divine Truth, and to forgive sins as CHRIST did. Then to be the Head of all Ecclesiastical Persons and Causes in the World; to be so far above *Kings* and *Princes*, as to Judge, Depose, and Deprive them, and to have an absolute Jurisdiction over all the affairs in Christendom, *in Ordine ad Spiritualia*; yet all this the Canonists allow him, and he makes no scruple to assume, whilst it is plain that in the whole *New Testament* there is no description made of such an Officer to be at any time in the Church, except it be in the Prophecy of the *Apocalyps*, or in one of St. *Paul's* Epistles, where he sayes, *Who it is that shall sit in the Temple of GOD, shewing himself that he is GOD.* CHRIST tells us, *his Kingdom is not of this World*; And, *if any will be the greatest amongst his Disciples, that he must be servant to the rest*; which shews that his Followers were to be great in Sanctity and Humility, and not in worldly power.

The

The Apoſtle *Paul* writing to the Chriſtians of thoſe times, almoſt in every Epiſtle commands them *to be obedient to the Higher Powers, or Magiſtrates ſet over them*; and St. *Peter* himſelf (from whom this extravagant Empire is pretended to be derived) in his firſt Epiſtle, bids us *ſubmit ourſelves to every ordinance of man for the LORDS ſake whether it be to the King, or, &c* and this is enjoyn'd although it is plain, that they who governn'd the World in thoſe days, were both Heathens, Tyrants, and Uſurpers, and in this ſubmiſſion there is no exception or *proviſo* for Eccleſiaſtical immunity. The practice as wel as precepts of thoſe Holy Men ſhews plainly that they had no intention to leave Succeſſors, who ſhould deprive Hereditary Princes from their right of Reigning for differing in Religion, who without all doubt are by the appointment of the Apoſtle and by the principles of Chriſtianity, to be obeyed and ſubmitted to (in things wherein the fundamental Laws of the Government give them power) though they were *Jews* or *Gentiles*. If I ſhould tell you by what Texts in Scripture the *Popes* claim the powers before mentioned, it would ſtir you up to laughter, and prove too light for ſo ſerious a matter; yet becauſe poſſibly you have never heard ſo much of this ſubject before, I ſhall inſtance in a few: They tell you therefore that the Juriſdiction they pretend over the Church, and the power of pardoning ſins,

come

comes from CHRIST to St. *Peter*, and, from him to them. *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, I will give thee the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, &c.* From these two Texts ridiculously applyed, comes this great Tree which hath with its branches over spread the whole Earth, and kill'd all the good and wholsome Plants growing upon it; The first Text will never by any man of sense be understood to say more, than that the Preaching, Suffering, and Ministry of *Peter*, was like to be a great foundation and Pillar of the Doctrine of Christ; the other Text (as also another spoken by our Saviour, to all his Apostles, *whose sins ye remit they are remitted, and whose sins ye retain they are retained*) are all by the primitive Fathers interpreted in this manner, wheresover you shall effectually preach the Gospel, you shal carry with you Grace, and Remission of sins to them which shall follow your instructions; but the people who shal not have these joyful Tidings communicated by you to them, shall remain in darkness, and in their sins. But if any will contest, that by some of these last Texts, that Evangelical Excommunication, which was afterwards brought into the Church by the Apostles, was here presignified by our great Master, how unlike

unlike were those censures to those now thunder ed out (as he calls it) by the *Pope*? these wer for edification, and not destruction, to afflic the flesh for the salvation of the Soul, that th Apostolical Ordinance was pronounced for some notorious Scandal or Apostacy from the Faith and first decreed by the Church; that is, the whole Congregation present, and then denoun ced by the Pastor, and reached only to debar such persons from partaking of the Communi on or fellowship of that Church, till Repen tance should re-admit him, but was followed by no other prosecution or chastisement, as is now practised. But suppose all these Texts had been as they would have them, how does this make for the Successors of St. *Peter* or the rest? Or how can this prove the Bishops of *Rome* to have right to such Succession? But I make haste from this subject, and shal urge but one Text more; which is, *the spiritual man judgeth all men, but is himself judged of none*; from whence is inferred by the Canonists, that first, the Pope is the Spiritual man; and then that he is to be Judge of all the World; and last, that he is never to be lyable to any judgment himself; whereas it is obvious to the meanest understanding: St. *Paul* in this text means to distinguish between a person inspired with the Spirit of God, and remaining one in the state of Nature, which latter he sayes cannot judge of those Heavenly gifts and graces, as he explains

explains himself when he says, *The natural man cannot discern the things of the Spirit, because they are foolishness unto him.* To take my leave of this matter wholly out of the way of my Studies, I shall beg of you *Zenobio* and of *Guilio*, and the rest of our Society to read over carefully the *New Testament*, and then to see what ground there is for *Purgatory* (by which all the wealth and greatness hath accrew'd to these men) what colour for the Idolatrous worship of Saints, and their Images, and particularly for speaking in their hymes and prayers to a piece of wood (the Cross I mean (*Salve Lignum*, &c. and then *fac nos dignos beneficiorum Christi*, as you may read in that Office, what colour, or rather what excuse for that horrid unchristian, and barbarous Engine called the *Inquisition*, brought in by the Command and Authority of the *Pope*, the inventor of which, *Peter* a Dominican Fryer having been slain amongst the *Albigesi*, as he well deserved, is now Cannoniz'd for a Saint, and stil'd, *San Pietro Martine*: In the dreadful Prisons of this Inquisition, many faithful and pious Christians (to say nothing of honest Moral *Moors* or *Mahometans*) are tormented and famish'd, or, if they out live their sufferings burnt publickly to death, and that only for differing in Religion from the *Pope*, without having any crime, or the least misdemeanor proved or alledged against them, and this is inflicted upon

upon these poor Creatures, by those who profe
to believe the Scripture, which tells us, th
faith is the gift of God, without whose speci
Illumination no man can obtain it; and ther
fore is not in reason or humanity to be punish
for wanting it: And Christ himself hath so clea
ly decided that point in bidding us let the ta
and the wheat grow together till the Harvest
that I shall never make any difficulty to call hi
Antichrist, who shall use the least persecutio
whatsoever against any differing in manners
faith from himself, whether the person so d
senting, be *Heretick*, *Jew*, *Gentile*, or *Mahomet*
Next I beseech you to observe in reading th
Holy Book (though Christian fasts are doubtl
of Divine right) what ground there is for enjoy
ing fish to be eaten (at least flesh to be abstain
from) for one third part of the year, by whic
they put the poor to great hardship, who n
having purses to buy wholsome fish, are subject
to all the miseries and diseases incident to a b
and unhealthful diet, whilst the rich, and chief
themselves and their *Cardinals*, exceed *Lucull*
in their Luxury, of *Oysters*, *Turbats*, *tinder Cra*
and *Carpioni* brought some hundreds of miles
feed their gluttony, upon these penitential day
of abstinence from *Beef* and *Pork*, It may be
will lye in the way of those who observe th
to enquire what *St. Paul* means when he say
That in the latter dayes some shall depart from the fa
forbidd

forbidding to marry, and Commanding to abſtain from meats which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving; but all theſe things, and many other abuſes brought in by theſe Perverters of Chriſtianity, will I hope e're long be enquired into by ſome of the Diſciples of that bold Fryer, who the very ſame year in which I profeſied that the ſcourge of the Church was not far off, began to thunder againſt their Indulgencies, and ſince hath queſtioned many tenets long received and impoſed upon the world. I ſhall conclude this diſcourſe after I have ſaid a word of the moſt Helliſh of all the innovations brought in by the *Popes*, which is the Clergy; theſe are a ſort of men under pretence of miniſtring to the people in holy things, ſet a part and ſeparated from the reſt of mankind (from whom they have a very diſtinct, and a very oppoſite intereſt) by a humane Ceremony called by a divine name; *viz.* Ordination, theſe wherever they are found (with the whole body of the Monks and Fryers, who are called the regular Clergy) make a Band which may be called the *Emmizaries of the Papacy*; theſe have been the cauſe of all the Solœciſms and immoralities in Government, and of all the impieties and abominations in Religion, and by conſequence of all the diſorder, villany, and corruption we ſuffer under in this deteſtable Age; theſe men by the ſhop of *Rome's* help have crept into all the

Governmen

Governments in *Christendom*, where there is an mixture of *Monarchy*, and made themselves third estate: that is, by their temporalities (which are almost a third part of all the Lands in *Europ* given them by the blind zeal, or rather folly o the *Northren* people, who over ran this part o the world) stept into the throne, and wha they cannot perform by these secular helps, and by the dependancy their vassals have upon them, they fail not to claim and to usurp, and by the power they pretend to have from God and his Vicegerent at *Rome*. They exempt themselves, their Lands and Goods, from all secular jurisdiction; that is, from all Courts of Justice and Magistracy, and will be Judges in their own Causes, as in matters of tithe, *&c.* and not content with this, will appoint Courts of their own to decide Soveraignty in testamentary matters, and many other causes; and take upon them to be the sole punishers of many great Crimes, as Witchcraft, Sorcery, Adultery, and all uncleanness; to say nothing of the forementioned judicatory of the inquisition: in these last cases they turn the offenders over to be punish'd (when they have given Sentence) by the secular arm, so they call the Magistrate, who is blindly to execute their decrees under pain of Hell fire; as if Christian Princes and Governours were appointed only by God to be their Bravo's or Hangmen. They give protection and Sanctuary, to all execrable

execrable offenders, even to Murderers themselves, (whom God commanded to be indispensably punish'd with death) if they come within their Churches, Cloysters, or any other place, which they will please to call holy ground; and if the ordinary justice, nay, the Soveraign power, do proceed against such offenders, they thunder out their Excommunication; that is, cut off from the body of Christ, not the Prince only, but the whole Nation and People, shutting the Church doors. and commanding divine offices to cease, and sometimes even authorizing the people to rise up in Arms, and constrain their Governours to a submission, as happened to this poor City in the time of our Ancestors, when for but forbidding the servant of a poor Carmelite Fryer who had vowed poverty, and should have kept none) to go arm'd, and punishing his disobedience, with imprisonment, our whole Senate with their *Confalonier* were constrained to go to *Avignon* for absolution, and in case of refusal, had been massacred by the people. It would almost astonish a wise man to imagine how these folks should acquire an Empire so destructive to Christian Religion, and so pernicious to the interests of men, but it will not seem so miraculous to them who shall seriously consider, that the Clergy hath been for more than these thousand years upon the catch, and a form'd united Corporation against the parity of

Re-

Religion, and the interest of Mankind, and hav
not only wrested the Holy Scripture to their ow
advantage (which they have kept from the La
ty in unknown languages, and by prohibitin
the reading thereof) but made use likewise firs
of the blind devotion and ignorance of th
Goths, *Vandals*, *Huns*, &c. and since of the am
bition and avarice of Christian Princes, stirrin
them up one against another, and sending them
upon fooliſh errands to the Holy Land, to lo
their lives, and to leave their Dominions, in
the mean time, exposed to themselves and thei
Complices, They have besides kept Learning
and Knowledge among themselves, stifling the
light of the Gospel, crying down Moral vertue
as splendid sins, defacing humane policy, de-
stroying the purity of the Christian faith and
profession, and all that was virtuous, prudent,
regular and orderly upon earth, so that whoever
would do good, and good men service, get him-
self immortal honour in this life, and eternal
glory in the next, would restore the good po-
licy (I had almost said with my Author *Livy* the
sanctity too) of the *Heathens*, with all their va-
lour, and other glorious endowments; I say,
whoever would do this, must make himself
powerful enough to extirpate this cursed and
apostate race out of the world, and that you
may see this is lawful as well as necessary, I shall
say but one word of their calling and original,
wise

and then leave this subject. The word *Clergy*, is a term wholly unknown to the Scriptures, otherwise then in this sense; a particular People or GOD'S lot used often for the whole *Jewish* Nation, who are likewise called a Kingdom of Priests in some places. In the New Testament the word *Cleros* is taken for the true Believers, who are also called the Elect, and often the Church, which is the Assembly of the Faithful met together, as is easily seen by reading the beginning of most of St *Paul's* Epistles, where writing to the Church, or Churches he usually explains himself, *To all the Saints in Christ*: sometimes, *To all who have obtained some faith with us*; sometimes, *To all who in all places call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus*, &c. by which it appears, that neither the word *Church* nor *Clergy* was in those days ever appropriated to the *Pastors or Elders* of the flock; but did signify indifferently all the people assembled together; which is likewise the literal construction of the word *Ecclesia*, which is an assembly or meeting; in these Congregations or Churches was performed their Ordination, which properly signifies no more than a decree of such Assembly, but is particularly used for an Election of any into the Ministry. The manner was this, sometimes the Apostles themselves in their Perigrinations, and sometimes any other eminent Member of the Church, did propose to the Society (upon vacancy, or other necessity of a

Paſtor, Elder, or Deacon) ſome good Holy man to be Elected, which perſon if he had parts or gifts, ſuch as the Church could edify by was choſen by the lifting up of hands, that is by ſuffrage, and oftentimes hands were laid upon him, and Prayer made for him. Theſe men ſo ſet apart did not pretend to any conſecration, or ſacredneſs more than they had before, much leſs to become a diſtinct thing from the reſt of *mankind* as if they had been metamorphos'd, but did attend to perform the ſeveral Functions of their calling, as prophecying; that is, Preaching the Goſpel, viſiting the *Sick*, *&c.* and never intermitted the ordinary buſineſs of their Trade or Profeſſion, unleſs their Church or Congregation was very numerous, in which caſe they were maintained by alms or contribution, which was laid aſide by every member, and collected the firſt day of the week by the Deacons, this was ſaid to be given to the Church, and was imployed by ſuffrage of the whole Collective Body to the poor, and to other incidencies, ſo far was it from Sacriledge in thoſe days to employ Church goods to Lay uſes. From theſe words, *Church*, *Clergy*, *Ordination*, *Paſtor*, (which laſt hath been tranſlated of late years *Biſhop*) you ſee what concluſions theſe men have deduced, and how immenſe a ſtructure they have raiſed, upon ſo little a foundation, and how eaſily it will fall to the ground, when God ſhall inſpire Chriſtian Princes and States to redeem his truths, and his

his poor enslaved Members out of their Churches, and to bring back again into the world, the true original Christian faith, with the Apostolical Churches, Pastors, and Ordination, so consistent with moral virtue and integrity, so helpful and conducing to the best and most prudent policy, so fitted for obedience to Magistracy and Government, all which the world hath for many years been deprived of, by the execrable and innate ill quality, which is inseparable from priest-craft, and the conjuration or spell of their new invented ordination; by which they cry with the Poet,

Jam furor humanum nostro de pectore sensum
Expulit & totum spirant præ cordia Phœbum.

which makes them so Sacred, and Holy, that they have nothing of integrity, or indeed of humanity left in them. I hope I shall not be thought impious any longer, upon this point, I mean for vindicating Christian Religion from the assaults of these men, who having the confidence to believe, or at least profess themselves the only instruments which God hath chosen or can choose to teach and reform the world (though they have neither Moral virtues, nor natural parts equal to other men for the most part) have by this pretence prevail'd so far upon the common sort of people, and upon some too of a better quality, that they are perswaded their salvation or eternal damnation depends upon believing or not believing of what they

ſay. I would not be underſtood, to diſſwade any from honouring the true Apoſtolical Teachers, when they ſhall be re eſtabliſhed amongſt us, or from allowing them (even of right, and not of alms or courteſie) ſuch emoluments as may enable them cheerfully to perform the duties of their charge, to provide for their Children, and even to uſe hoſpitality as they are commanded by St: *Paul.* But this I will prophecy before I conclude; that if Princes ſhall perform this buſineſs by halves, and leave any root of this Clergy or Prieſtcraft, as it now is, in the ground or if that famous Reformer, fled ſome years ſince out of *Picardy* to *Geneva*, who is of ſo great renown for learning and parts, and who promiſes us ſo perfect a Reformation, ſhall not in this model wholly extirpate this ſort of men, then I ſay I muſt foretel, that as well the Magiſtrate as this Workman, will find themſelves deceived in their expectation, and that the leaſt *fibra* of this plant will over run again the whole Vineyard of the Lord, and turn to a diffuſive Papacy in every Dioceſs, perhaps in every Pariſh: So that God in his mercy inſpire them to cut out the core of the Ulcer, and the bag of the impoſture, that it may never rankle or feſter any more, nor break out hereafter, to diffuſive new corruption and putrifaction through the body of Chriſt, which is his Holy Church, not to vitiate and infect the good order and true policy of Government.

I come now to the laſt branch of my charge, which is, *That I teach Princes villany, and how to enſlave and oppreſs their Subjects*, In which accuſation I am dealt with as poor *Agnolo Canini* was, who as they report, being a very learned practiſer of the Laws, and lett the only man of this profeſſion (one Autumn) in our City, the reſt of the Advocates being fled into the countrey for fear of a contagious Diſeaſe which then reigned, was commanded by our Judges to aſſiſt with his counſel both parties, and to draw Pleas as well for the Defendant as the Plantiff, elſe the Courts of Juſtice muſt have been ſhut up. In the ſame manner my accuſers handle me, and make me firſt exhort and teach Subjects to throw off their Princes, and then to inſtruct Monarchs how to enſlave and oppreſs them; but I did not expect ſuch ingratitude from mine own Citizens, or to be ſerved as *Moſes* was, when he was upbraided for killing the *Egyptian*, by one of his own people for whoſe ſake he had done it, whereas he believed they would have underſtood by that action, that he was the perſon whom God intended to make uſe in delivering them from the horrid ſlavery they were then under. If any man will read over my Book of the Prince with impartiality and ordinary charity, he will eaſily perceive, that it is not my intention therein to recommend that Government, or thoſe men there diſcribed, to the world; much leſs to

teach

teach them to trample upon good men, and a
that is Sacred and Venerable upon earth, Law
Religion, Honesty, and what not; if I hav
been a little too punctual in designing thes
Monsters, and drawn them to the life in al
their lineaments and colours, I hope mankin
will know them the better to avoid them, m
Treatise being both a Satyr against them, and
true Character of them: I speak nothing o
great and honourable Princes, as the Kings o
England, *France*, and others; who have th
States and Orders of their Kingdoms with ex
cellent Laws, and Constitution, to found an
maintain their Government; and who reig
over the hearts as well as the persons of thei
subjects; I treat only of those vermin bred ou
of the corruption of our own small Common
wealths and Cities, or engender'd by the ill blast
that come from *Rome*, *Olvaretto da Fermo*, *Borgi*
the *Baglioni*, the *Bentivoglio*, and a hundred others
who having had neither right nor honourabl
means to bring them to their power, use i
with more violence, rapin, and cruelty upo
the poor people, than those other renowned
Princes shew to the Boars, the Wolves, th
Foxes, and other savage beasts which are the
objects of their chase and hunting: whosoeve
in his Empire over men is ty'd to no other rule
than those of his own will and lust, must either
be a Saint to moderate his passions, or else a
very

very Devil incarnate; or if he be neither of theſe, both his life and reign are alike to be very ſhort; for whoſoever takes upon him ſo execrable an employment as to rule men againſt the Laws of nature and of reaſon, muſt turn all topſie turvy, and never ſtick at any thing, for if once he halt, he will fall and never riſe again: I hope after this I need ſay little to juſtifie my ſelf from the calumny of adviſing theſe Monſters to break their faith, ſince to keep it is to loſe their Empire, faithfulneſs and ſincerity being their mortal enemies, and *Vgucciones della Faggivola* to one who upbraided him, that he never employed honeſt men; anſwered, *Honeſt men will cut my throat, let the King uſe honeſt men*, meaning the King of *Naples*, who was eſtabliſhed in his Throne, and had right to it. But that I may have occaſion to juſtifie my ſelf againſt a little more then I am accuſed of, I will confeſs, that in a work where I deſired to be a little more ſerious, than I was in this Book of the Prince, I did affirm, that in what way ſoever men defended their Country, whether by breaking or keeping their faith, it was ever well defended, not meaning in a ſtrick moral ſenſe, or point of honour, but explaing my ſelf that *defatto* the infamy of the breach of word, would quickly be forgotten and pardoned by the world; which is very true. Nay, what if I had ſaid that good ſucceſs in any interprizes (a far

ieſs

ess consideration than piety to our Country) would have cancell'd the bleam of such perfidy as *Cæsar* (whom I compare to *Cataline*) us'd towards his fellow Citizens, not only not detested by posterity, but even crown'd with renown and immortal fame; insomuch as Princes to this day (as I have observed elsewhere) think it an honour to be compared to him, and the highest pitch of veneration their flatters can arrive at, is to call them by the name of one who violated his faith, and enslav'd his Country. I hope that in shewing as well these Tyrants as the poor people who are forced to live under them, their danger, that is by laying before the former, the hellish and precipitous courses they must use to maintain their power, by representing to the latter, what they must suffer, I may be instrumental, first, to deter private Citizens from attempting upon the liberties of their Country, or if they have done it, to make them lay down their ill gotten Authority; and then to warn the rest of the Nobility and people, from these factions and malignancies in their several commonwealths and Governments, which might give hope and opportunity to those who are ambitious amongst them, to aspire to an Empire over them. However it prove, I hope I am no more to be blamed for my attempt, then that excellent Physician of our Nation is, who hath lately taken so much pains to compose an excellent

Treatise

Treatise, of that foul Disease which was, not long since, brought from the new world into these parts; wherein though he be forced to use such expressions as are almost able to nauseate his Readers, and talk of such Ulcers, Boyles, Nodes, Botches, Cankers, *&c.* that are scarce fit to be repeated, especially when he handles the causes of those effects, yet he did not intend to teach or exhort men to get this Disease; much less did he bring this lamentable infirmity into the world, but discribes it faithfully as it is, to the end men may be deterred, and avoid the being infected with it, and may discern and cure, whenever their incontinence and folly shall procure it them. I shall say no more in this matter; but to conclude all make a protestation, that as well in this Book, as in all my other Writing, my only scope and design is to promote the interest and welfare of mankind, and the peace and quiet of the world, both which I am so vain as to believe, would be better obtained and provided for, if the principles I lay down were followed and observed by Princes and People, than they are like to be by those Maxims which are in this Age most in vogue. For my self I shall only say (and call you all to witness for the truth of it) that as by my Birth I am a Gentleman, and of a Family which hath had many *Confaloniers* of Justice in it; so I have been

Chief Magistrate.

used

uſed in many imployments of great truſt, both in our City and abroad; and at this hour I am not in my Eſtate one penny the better for them all, nor ſhould I have been, although I had never ſuffered any loſſes by the ſeizure of my Eſtate in the year 1531, for my carriage it hath ever been void of faction and contention, I never had any prejudice againſt the houſe of *Medici*, but honoured the perſon of all thoſe of that Family whom I knew, and the memory of ſuch of them as lived before me, whom I acknowledge to have been excellent Patriots and Pillars of our City and Commonwealth. During the turbulent times of *Piero*, and after his expulſion out of *Florence*, though my employments were but Miniſterial, my advice was ask'd in many grave matters, which I ever delivered with impartiality and indifference, not eſpouſing the heady opinions of any, much leſs their paſſions and animoſities; I never ſided with any Party further than that the Duty of my charge obliged me to ſerve the prevailing Party, when poſſeſſ'd of the Government of our City; this I ſpeak for thoſe changes that happened between the flight of the ſaid *Piero de Medici*, and the horrid Parricide committed by *Clement the 7th.* upon his indulgent Mother, joyning with his greateſt enemies, and uniting himſelf with thoſe who had uſed the moſt tranſcendent inſolence to his own perſon, and the

highest violence and fury the Sun ever saw to his poor Courtiers and Subjects, and so accompained he might sheath his Sword in the bowels of his own desolate Country. At that time, and during that whole Siege, I must confess I did break the confines of my Neutrality, and not only acted as I was commanded barely, but rouz'd my self, and stir'd up others haranguing (in the Streets and places of the City) the People to defend with the last drop of their Blood, the Walls of their Country, and the Liberty of their Government; taking very hazardous Journeys to *Ferrucio*, and then into the *Mugello* and other parts, to bring in Succours and Provisions to our languishing City, and acting as a Souldier (which was a new profession to me) at the age of above sixty, when others are dispensed from it. For all which, I had so entire a satisfaction in my mind and conscience, that I am perswaded this cordial made me able to support the sufferings which befel me after our Catastrophe, and to rejoyce in them so far, that all the malice and cruelties of our enemies, could never draw one word from me unsutable to the honour I thought I merited, and in some sort enjoy, for being instrumental to defend (as long as it was possible) our Altars and our Hearths. But all that I have undergone, hath been abundantly recompenced to me by the favour and courtesie) of the most excellent Signior *Cosimo*, who

who hath been pleased to offer me all the preferments the greatest ambition could aspire to, which I did not refuse out of any scruple to serve so incomparable a Prince, who see early years manifest so much courage, humanity, and prudence, and so fatherly a care of the publick good, but because I was very desireous not to accept of a charge which I was not able to perform, my years and infirmities having now brought me to a condition in which I am fitter to live in a Cloyster then a Palace, and made me good for nothing but to talk of past times, the common vice of old Age: So that I did not think it just or grateful to reward this excellent person so ill for his kindness, as to give him a useless Servant, and to fill up the place of a far better. This is all I think fit to say of this matter I chuse to address it to you *Zenobio*, for the constant friendship I have ever entertained with you & formerly with your deceased Father, the companion of my Studies, and ornament of our City. And so I bid you farewell,

The first of April, 1537.

HARVARD COLLEGE MUSEUM